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The Public Domain
Saskatchewan's
Rightful Heritage



F. W. G. HAULTAIN

The Persistent, Popular, Provincial Champion



¶ If Saskatchewan would come into its own it must support the party that has always fought for it. ¶ Which policy --- Haultain and the Heritage restored, or Scott and the Heritage withheld? ¶ The Haultain policy is the popular Provincial policy.

INTRODUCTION

With the approach of the Provincial elections the lands question looms large upon the horizon of public discussion. It looms large because, from a constitutional and economic standpoint, it is the most important question now before the people of Saskatchewan. The Laurier land terms placed the Province in a position of inferiority, in comparison with the other Provinces; while they have deprived the provincial treasury of many millions of revenue.

Premier Scott and Mr. Calder, must among Laurier's henchmen in Saskatchewan, assume chief responsibility for the fastening of these terms on the Province; for they were parties to the arrangement; they declared that it was good and resolutely defended it against all criticism. They furthermore declared that to advocate changes in the terms was insanity itself.

Compelled by public opinion to abandon their old position Premier Scott and Mr. Calder have recently modified their attitude and now ask for a portion of the public domain; not the best of it, but a portion which, a few years ago, they said was practically valueless. But they still adhere to the leading principle of the Laurier land terms, namely, that the lands belong to the Dominion, and that an annual money payment is better for the Province than provincial administration.

Is it wise to interest Saskatchewan's case for the lands in the hands of men who, a little over a year ago, said that the retention of the lands by the Dominion Government was the best possible arrangement for the Province? Is it wise to place negotiations in the hands of men who say, "We don't want the whole of the public domain;" and who have manifested no intention of asking for compensation for lands granted to railways or sold as pre-emptions?

The negotiations for the transfer of the public domain should be intrusted to a leader who has always championed

the cause of provincial administration, who has demanded the public domain as a right, and who asks not only that all of it that exists should be handed over; but that compensation be allowed for that which has been alienated to private individuals. Such a leader is Mr. Haultain.

The Scott Government must be judged on its record. How then can the electors vote confidence in men who supported an arrangement that has kept the Province out of its rightful heritage and deprived it of millions of revenue? How can the electors expect the Government now to push with sincerity demands which they, but a short time ago, denounced as ridiculous?

Note—Since the early part of 1908, 5,000,000 acres of pre-emption and purchased homestead lands in Saskatchewan have been sold by the Dominion at \$3 per acre, with interest at 5 per cent. This means that from this source alone the Dominion Government will collect over \$18,000,000. If this sum were invested at 4 per cent. the Province could, from this source alone, derive an annual revenue of \$720,000. In other words, the annual revenue from these 5,000,000 acres would amount to within \$405,000 of the largest sum which, under the Laurier land terms, the Province, can possibly receive annually in lieu of the whole of the public domain.

If this sum were available, plus the \$750,000 a year compensation for railways lands alienated, there would be no need to go into debt at the rate of \$1,500,000 a year, or to reduce school grants and the expenditure on public works.

The Lands Question

The chief question before the electors of Saskatchewan today is the lands question. The issue involved in that question is, Shall the public domain, i. e., the lands, timber and mineral resources, together with the streams and water-courses within the province, or a portion of them, be administered by the federal or by the provincial government?

Since the provincial government was established in 1905 this has been the chief issue in the politics of the province and will continue to be so until it is definitely settled; or, in other words, until the whole of the public domain is transferred from the federal to the provincial government and administered by it.

The Conservative, or Opposition, party in Saskatchewan has always contended that the public domain is by right the property of the province and should be administered by the provincial government. This was the contention of its leader, Mr. Haultain, long before the provincial government was established; this was his contention in 1908; this is his contention today.

THE LIBERAL POSITION

The Scott government and the Liberal party in general has, on the contrary, held that the public domain within the province is the property of the Dominion Parliament and can be disposed of by it in any manner that to it may seem wise. It has held that it is much better for the province that the lands, the timber, the minerals, the lakes and rivers within the provincial boundaries should be under the control of the federal rather than of the provincial government. It has contended that it is more profitable for the province that the federal government should collect all the revenue derivable from these resources and pay the province an annual fixed cash-subsidy.

Holding this opinion, the Laurier Liberal government, when it created the province of Saskatchewan in 1905, withheld from the provincial government control of the public domain and in lieu of the revenue which it derives from

these natural resources granted the province by way of compensation, a revenue which has since been admitted by almost all persons to be ridiculously inadequate.

This was the policy of the Laurier government in 1905; this was its policy when it went down to defeat last fall. This is the policy which it did its utmost to fasten upon the province for all time. This is the policy which was accepted without hesitation and defended vigorously by the Liberals of Saskatchewan under the leadership of Premier Scott and Mr. Calder. Public opinion has compelled these gentlemen to go partially back on it; but the Liberals of Saskatchewan still contend that the principle of a cash subsidy in lieu of the lands is the best arrangement for the province.

THE CONSERVATIVE POSITION

In 1905 the Conservatives protested against such an arrangement and contended that the whole of the public domain should be transferred to the province and administered by the provincial government. Hence arose the controversy over what has come to be known as the lands question.

Stated briefly, the contention of the Conservative party is as follows: The public lands within the boundaries of the province are rightfully the property of the province and should be administered by the provincial government for the benefit of the province; and further that the province should receive compensation for all lands alienated for federal purposes, i. e., granted to railways or used for homestead and pre-emption purposes.

For this Mr. Haultain contended when he was premier of the Territories. It formed the basis of his negotiations with the Laurier government on the subject of autonomy. It received the unanimous endorsement of the people, the press and the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories; for at that time it was supported by Conservatives and Liberals alike.

SCOTT ONCE SUPPORTED HAULTAIN

Until near the end of 1904 Mr. Scott strongly supported Mr. Haultain's policy. But when the Laurier government announced that it intended to administer the public lands themselves, Mr. Scott sacrificed his principles and declared

as strongly against the principle of the provincial administration of the public domain as he had previously declared in favor of it.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION

The claim that the province should by right possess the public domain within its boundaries rests upon strong constitutional grounds. Confederation, which came into existence in 1867, was first composed of four provinces, Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Formerly they occupied to one another and to the British Crown the same relationship as did the thirteen American colonies. They had control of their own affairs. They could not be induced to enter Confederation except on condition that certain powers they then enjoyed would not be taken away from them. All of them controlled the public domain within their boundaries, having received it from the Imperial government, and they continued to control it under the new order of things. They all had equality in civil rights. Every legislature had the same powers. In 1871 British Columbia entered Confederation and it retained control of the public domain. In 1873 Prince Edward Island also came in, but having no public lands, it received an annual cash subsidy instead. Manitoba entered in 1870. It did not secure control of all its lands, but got an annual subsidy, and since several millions of acres of swamp lands, from which it derives a revenue of hundreds of thousands a year.

It was the intention of the fathers of Confederation that all the provinces, including those that might afterwards be organized or enter the union, should have equal powers. That the people in the newer provinces should have fewer powers than those in the older ones is unjust and was never contemplated. So, for this reason, when unorganized territory is organized into a province it is entitled to the ownership of the lands, timber and minerals within its boundaries.

THE LAURIER LEGISLATION

When by the Saskatchewan Act of 1905 a provincial constitution was granted by the Dominion Parliament, control of the public lands was withheld from the provincial government, their administration from Ottawa being continued. It was admitted that the province had a good claim to the lands; but the Laurier government held that the lands could

be administered better from Ottawa than from Regina. So it decided to collect the revenues therefrom and to pay the province a cash subsidy in lieu of this revenue.

WHAT MR. HAULTAIN ASKED

As premier of the Territories what did Mr. Haultain ask for? This information is contained in the famous Draft Bill. At the request of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1901, the case for the Territories was forwarded to Ottawa and embodied in the well known Draft Bill, prepared by Mr. Haultain. Briefly stated, the principal requests were:

1. "Equal rights with all the other provinces of the Dominion and the same financial consideration that has been given to those provinces."—i.e., grants for legislation, debt allowance, per capita grant.

2. "Control of the public domain in the West, by the West and for the West."—i.e., control of the water as well as the land areas, which now the province has not to the slightest extent.

3. "Compensation for the alienation of any part of the public domain for purely federal purposes."—13,000,000 acres of Saskatchewan lands had, before 1903, been granted to railway companies. Mr. Haultain's Draft Bill provided for compensation for this; a valuation of \$1 per acre being placed on the lands, and an annual grant of 5 per cent. to the province being named. This item alone would have provided an annual revenue of \$750,000. It was refused. In 1903 Mr. Scott said this was "the supremely important demand made in the Draft Bill. The acreage is now 15,177,063 acres.

4. "The removal of the unjust and onerous Canadian Pacific Railway exemption." This was denied.

It was on these questions that the Haultain government appealed to the people of the Territories in 1902. This was plainly stated in Mr. Haultain's manifesto published in every paper in the Territories as the following shows:

"These are the matters that the government of the Territories is now fighting for, and these are the matters upon which your judgment is invited in my appeal to you for re-election as your representative in the legislature. A similar appeal is being made in every constituency in the country by every candidate whose election will give support to the government at this critical period in the history of the Territo-

ries. The issue is plain, and it is for the people of the Territories to decide."

At the ensuing elections Mr. Haultain's policy was overwhelmingly endorsed. During all this time Mr. Haultain had the support of Mr. Scott and the rank and file of the Liberal party in the Territories.

A reading of the following extracts from Mr. Scott's speeches in the early 90's readily shows what were his opinions in those days.

SCOTT IN 1901

I may say that what the people of the territories will expect, and what I think they have a right to expect—and that is really the point to which I wish to call the attention of Parliament—is that they will be dealt with on exactly the same basis as the originally confederated provinces. If the proper principle is adhered to, if the principle of absolute equality is observed, if parliament places the new provinces upon an equitable basis, the local government will be given a grant for government, also the per capita grant, and be given anything that may be shown to be due as the debt allowance. And they will be put in possession of the public resources, lands, timber and minerals in the same way as the other provinces were put in possession of their resources.

I believe that that portion of the Confederation arrangement by which the original provinces retained control over their public resources, was looked upon by the fathers of Confederation as the keystone of the whole system.

The people of the territories contend that the public lands of that territory are now simply held in trust by parliament until such time as provinces may be created in that area. They firmly believe that their contention is good. But even if a strict legal or moral right cannot be established by the people of the territories to be given possession of their local resources, I appeal to this House whether it would not be unwise and impolitic to create provinces out there on any different basis from that on which other provinces stand.

Entire equality is the only sure guarantee of the permanency of the Confederation structure. Is it not a fair proposition that the citizens of the Northwest Territories should be looked upon in all respects as equal to the citizens of any other province of Canada?—House of Commons, Hansard—1901.

This was Mr. Scott's original position.

SCOTT CAPITULATED

Mr. Scott believed that the new provinces should control the public domain within their boundaries up until the time when he began to ascertain that it was the intention of the Laurier government to withhold it and to grant the prov-

inced a cash subsidy in lieu of the land revenue. Then he completely changed his attitude and henceforth was as strongly in favor of the Dominion government retaining the public domain as he was formerly opposed to it.

In 1905 the Laurier government introduced its autonomy legislation. Saskatchewan was created a province, but instead of transferring the public domain to the provincial government the Laurier government, as has been pointed out, retained the administration of it and granted to the province an annual cash subsidy in lieu of the revenue therefrom.

It is to be borne in mind that the cash land subsidy is all that was granted in lieu of the land revenue. The per capita grant, the grant for legislation and the debt allowance have nothing to do with the land subsidy.

THE LAURIER LAND TERMS

The following are the terms and how they were arrived at:

The area of the public lands of all kinds, agricultural, timber and mineral, in the province was estimated at 25,000,000 acres and valued at \$1.50 per acre. On this valuation of \$37,500,000 the following percentages are to be paid:

1 per cent. until population reaches.....	400,000
Then 1½ per cent. until population reaches.	800,000
Then 2 per cent until population reaches...	1,200,000
Then 3 per cent.	

No more than 3 per cent. will ever be paid, it matters not if population should reach 10,000,000.

The payments are to be as follows:

From 250,000 to 400,000 population.....	\$ 375,000
From 400,000 to 800,000 population.....	562,500
From 800,000 to 1,200,000 population.....	750,000
From 1,200,000 population and over.....	1,125,000

In addition \$93,750 for public buildings was granted for five years. This ran out in 1910.

To estimate the area of the public lands in Saskatchewan at merely 25,000,000 acres in 1905 was ridiculous. The natural question is: On what basis was the estimate made? It was not made from exact information as to the real nature and extent of the resources of the province. It was thought that a cash subsidy of \$375,000 a year would, in addition to revenue from ordinary local sources, be sufficient to meet

demands upon the treasury until population would reach 400,000. But the question arose as to what would be the basis of calculation. It was remembered that in 1889 the C. P. R. had surrendered to the Dominion government 6,793,041 acres of its land grant and had received in return \$10,189,521. This was considered a fair working basis for calculation. The valuation of \$1.50 an acre was decided on, and a one per cent. return on an area of 25,000,000 acres produces the subsidy of \$375,000, which was the sum the Province received in 1905.

Much of the land which the Laurier government valued at \$1.50 an acre, and on which it is allowing the province 1½ per cent., has been sold to the settlers in the form of pre-emptions for \$3 an acre with interest at 5 per cent. per annum.

HOW IT WORKS OUT

Instead of the Laurier land terms enabling the public to share in the values the public creates, it has a directly contrary effect. As values increase the return per capita which the province receives becomes less. This is shown by the following table stating the amounts which Saskatchewan will receive in the aggregate and per capita as population increases:

Population.	Land Subsidy.	Return per capita.
250,000	\$ 375,000	\$1.50
400,000	562,500	1.15
800,000	750,000	.94
1,200,000	1,125,000	.93
1,500,000	1,125,000	.75
2,000,000	1,125,000	.56
3,000,000	1,125,000	.37
4,000,000	1,125,000	.28
5,000,000	1,125,000	.23
8,000,000	1,125,000	.14

In Collier's Weekly of 1909, Premier Scott contributed an article in which he stated that in 1950 Saskatchewan would have a population of 8,000,000.

A RIDICULOUS ESTIMATE

To estimate the good land in the province at merely 25,000,000 acres was so ridiculous that it soon became manifest

to the public. For example, the country north of Prince Albert was not taken into account, whereas the truth is that this country is a rich empire of itself.

Dominion government reports show that the area of the province north of Prince Albert is equal to that of the whole Province of Manitoba; the experts of the Interior Department have testified that the land suitable for cultivation is 19,968,000 acres, while the area of the land about which little is known is about 33,280,000 acres in 1909; and that the mineral deposits are undoubtedly important. The timber cut off that country in 1909 was \$60,000,000 feet.

The lands west of Moose Jaw were then held in very low estimation, though they have since gone up in value to \$60 and even \$100 an acre. Moreover, in this district the Dominion government has sold over 4,000,000 acres of pre-emption lands at \$3 an acre and thus will receive therefor \$12,000,000, and, in addition, a huge interest payment.

THE COAL AREAS

The coal areas of the province were not taken into account, though subsequent reports issued by the Dominion government show them to be extremely important. D. B. Dowling, an expert of the Department of Mines, has estimated that the coal areas of the province contain about 18,000,000,000 tons. These areas are classified under the Belly River and Laramie formations. Coals of the Belly River formation generally grade between lignite and bituminous. These are estimated at 3,000,000,000 tons. Coals of the Laramie formation are lignites. These are estimated at 15,000,000,000, and, in addition, an interest payment of at least \$1,500,000.

SCOTT WAS SATISFIED

In 1905 Mr. Scott was completely satisfied with the land terms, declaring that they were not only adequate but positively generous. Speaking in the House of Commons during that year, he said:

Now I come to the matter of the compensation for the lands and the financial terms. I may say at once that the financial terms and the compensation for lands command together my hearty endorsement.—Autonomy Debate.

Even now were I not satisfied that the financial terms as a whole are so ample and generous as to offset in a great measure the financial handicap meant by the exemption meas-

ure, I would deem it my duty to myself and the Northwest Territories to oppose the bills."—Autonomy Debate.

The particular benefit to the provinces in the plan that is being adopted as opposed to the plan of transferring the public domain to the local governments, is found in the fact that we have from the start an assured revenue; whereas, if the lands were transferred to the local governments and if no change of policy were put into effect by them, they would have great difficulties in their initial years of their provincial experience in getting enough revenue to carry on the affairs of government. Moreover, their financial position is assured in the far future years, fifty or one hundred years hence, as long as this confederation lasts; whereas, on the other hand, and in the case of some of the other provinces fifty or one hundred years hence, the crown domain cannot be worth very much to those provinces so far as concerns their revenues.—Autonomy Debate.

J. G. TURRIFF'S OPINION

J. G. Turriff, M.P., expressed himself in the House of Commons during 1905 as follows:

So these provinces are starting out with everything in their favor, and here I wish to say that the government as conducted in Northwest Territories for many years past by Mr. Haultain has been in every respect a good and satisfactory government for the Northwest Territories. And I have no doubt that whoever may be called upon to carry on the government in the new provinces will carry it on in the same manner; but not owning their own lands, they will not have the same temptations, and they will not have those magnates (railways) after them every day trying to get bonuses and guarantees as would be the case if the provinces were the owners of the public lands.

WHAT THE LEADER SAID

The Regina Leader was equally as positive and outspoken as the Premier on the lands question, of which the following quotations are proof:

There is practically no room for two opinions with respect to the financial terms, which are framed with an entire absence of that niggardly spirit which left Manitoba in an unfair and unequal financial position. So far as concerns the financial equipment to enable the northwest people to maintain local government, speaking not for the next ten, twenty or thirty years, but for all future time, we say unhesitatingly that the arrangement made is unquestionably more stable and satisfactory than any arrangement which would have left us with control of the public lands and without any guaranteed revenues from Ottawa beyond the per capita grant and debt allowance.

Confessed misgivings as to the wisdom of transferring so enormous a responsibility to local legislatures and governments, and we put the question: Are we today, or will we be five years hence, if the present rate and classes of immigration continue, a people of solidity, stability and wisdom to capably handle such a heritage as the northwest public domain in the best interests of future generations? And we said: "Cheap platitudes will be less useful as answer to this question than the lesson to be drawn from the older provinces." In not one of the older provinces with the exception of Ontario can be found in connection with management of crown domain any reason to lead the northwest to wish for direct local control of the lands.—Leader, March 1, 1905.

No fair minded person with the facts before him can come to any other conclusion than this is a very advantageous bargain; and that so far as the public domain goes the new province is richer and not poorer than it would have been if it had the actual possession of the lands, with all the expenses of management, sale and settlement which that possession would involve.—Leader, November 22, 1905.

IN THE LEGISLATURE 1906

During the first session of the legislature, when the Opposition resumed its attack upon the Laurier land terms, Premier Scott and Hon. Mr. Calder were vigorous in their defence of the same, declaring that not only was the arrangement much better for the province than provincial administration could possibly be, but that the electors had ratified the legislation in such a way that the land issue had really been buried.

The three following quotations are from Premier Scott's deliverances in the legislature during 1906:

He could prove that before he went to Ottawa for the autonomy session he had come to the conclusion with a great many other people that it would be better that the public lands should not be handed over to the possession and management of the people of the province, and that if they could induce the Dominion to give them a fair subsidy it would be better for the lands to remain in the care of the Department of the Interior. Then it came down to the very simple question as to the adequacy of the terms. His friends contended, and would contend, he had no doubt, to the end of the chapter, that the terms were inadequate.

(Mr. Wylie—"Hear, hear.")

The member for Maple Creek said, "Hear, hear," but let him look among his political friends outside the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan and he would fail to find one who would agree with him.

Mr. Wylie—"But we are the judges."

Mr. Scott remarked that they had the judgment of the people of Alberta and Saskatchewan. Before the provinces

as a whole stated their opinion at the elections last fall there was a bye-election at Edmonton, and since the provincial elections they had had three other contests, all of which endorsed the terms. West Assinibola and Saskatchewan went mainly in support of the Act and Strathcona gave a large majority.—Premier Scott, Budget Speech, Leader Report, May 21, 1906.

He was not going to follow his friend in a discussion of that land arrangement, because it was not an issue before the people of this country and could not ever again become an issue; but he would say that his friend had misinterpreted entirely the purpose of the Provincial Treasurer in his comparison of the terms of the Saskatchewan Act and the terms of the draft bill.—Premier Scott, Budget Debate, Leader, May 21, 1906.

The House would see the need there was for a strong representation of the claims of the west, and he thought they would agree that they were perfectly satisfied that the terms, which in the end were got, were fair terms, terms which put the province in an equitable position with the people in any other province in Canada.—Premier Scott, Budget Debate, Leader report.

MR. CALDER ALSO

During the same session Hon. Mr. Calder declared emphatically that the people of the province were satisfied with the existing arrangement, as the following quotation shows:

Dealing with the great bone of contention between the two parties in the house, the land question, Mr. Calder said that the opinions expressed by members of the Opposition during the election campaign were many and varied, but their official position was now known through their amendment on the speech from the Throne. In that amendment they stated that the people of this province unanimously held the view that when the province was established the province should have had control of the lands, timber and mineral resources. Just where they got the foundation for that statement he did not know, but they probably referred to the last general election that was held in the territories; but while the draft bill was undoubtedly an issue in that campaign, he thought his friends had overlooked the fact that at the election last December the people of this province had a concrete proposition before them in the Saskatchewan Act which included the provision that the lands be retained by the Dominion Government, and consequently if there had been any expression of opinion at all by the country he thought it was that they were satisfied with the present arrangement.—Hon. J. A. Calder, Budget Speech; Leader, May 18, 1906.

SCOTT IN 1908

Throughout 1906, 1907 and the early part of 1908, the Opposition attack upon the land bargain was continued, so that during the election campaign of 1908 it became one of

the leading issues. The throwing open to settlement of millions of acres of pre-emption lands, which the Dominion government was selling for \$3 per acre with interest at 5 per cent., whereas the land subsidy was based on an estimate of \$1.50 per acre and the province was then allowed only 1 per cent. on that, imparted a strong impetus to the agitation conducted by the Opposition. The utter inadequacy of the terms thus became manifest and the electors began to speak out.

LIBERAL CAMPAIGN LITERATURE

However, in its campaign literature issued in that year the Scott government declared itself as strongly opposed to a change in the land terms. In the "Pluck, Push and Progress!" pamphlet officially endorsed as "An Outline of Saskatchewan Liberalism and Progress," one finds the following statements:

Premier Scott was in Parliament in 1905 when the Autonomy Act was passed. He studied the land question then. And he has ever since been very emphatic in his opinion that the perpetual money subsidy secured to Saskatchewan in lieu of the lands is a much better thing for the province than to have taken the lands themselves. Each year now the province is drawing \$468,750 in lieu of lands. By and by, when our population grows, the province will draw annually forever \$1,125,000 on this account.

Mr. Scott's opinion has recently been very strikingly confirmed—confirmed in a most positive and effective manner by the Conservative premier of Manitoba, Hon. R. P. Roblin. In connection with the extension of Manitoba's boundaries, and respecting the mooted proposals that the public lands within the new territory should be given to Manitoba, Premier Roblin, backed by his colleagues, by the Assembly and by the Manitoba people, declared most distinctly that Manitoba did not want the lands, but what they did want was cash payments and terms exactly the same as Saskatchewan and Alberta receive.

Note—Here it may be pointed out that since the Borden government has come into office an arrangement has been made whereby Manitoba is to receive the public lands in a large portion of territory that is to be added to the province and is also to be placed on terms of financial equality with Saskatchewan and Alberta.

The pamphlet continues as follows:

All over Canada it is believed that Saskatchewan's and Alberta's land bargain makes those provinces richer financially than is any other province. Premier McBride of British Columbia, in his fight for better terms in 1906, made the pos-

sion of these two provinces his chief argument. Following the passage of the Autonomy Acts, the Prince Edward Island legislature made a new demand at Ottawa for an increased subsidy on the ground of the terms granted Alberta and Saskatchewan.

After quoting several opinions, the pamphlet proceeds:

Are these expressions not complete proof that the land arrangement is a good one for Saskatchewan? Those who denounce the land bargain are fakirs pure and simple. They cannot condemn it without swallowing their own words and condemning themselves. Remember these facts.

Can you do a simple sum in arithmetic? Then figure out where Saskatchewan would be today financially if the lands had been given us in 1905 instead of the subsidy. Where? Back in Ottawa, along with British Columbia and Manitoba, hat in hand, pleading for better terms.

PREMIER SCOTT IN-1908

Speaking at Hanley on July 31st, 1908, the Premier said:

Speaking of the land arrangement, continuing, Mr. Scott said: "I am perfectly satisfied that Saskatchewan and Alberta are the best off provinces in the Dominion of Canada as a result of these terms."—Leader Report, August 3, 1908.

At Lumsden on August 7 the Premier expressed himself as follows:

In addition to the Parliament of Canada having settled the question, the province has settled it in the campaign of 1905. It was plainly put and fully discussed. He was satisfied that the cash grant which the provinces obtain in lieu of their public domain was more advantageous to them than the lands would be.

There was not a public man except a bitter partizan who had opened his mouth on the subject who did not admit that Saskatchewan and Alberta had been made much better off by the federal administration of the lands than they would be had the lands been under their control.—Leader, August 8, 1908.

THE PREMIER'S TAUNT

On August 15th, the day after the election, Premier Scott spoke at a meeting of Liberals held in the city hall to celebrate the victory. Here he declared that the people had indicated that they did not want the land terms disturbed, and he wondered how long it would take the electors of Saskatchewan to convince Mr. Haultain of that fact. The Premier spoke as follows:

We have heard a great deal about the land issue. As I pointed out in this hall on Wednesday evening, in regard to

the verdict the people gave three years ago on the land as well as other autonomy questions, what was there for the government to do but what we have done? The people did not want the land arrangement disturbed. They said the same yesterday. How long is it going to take the people of Saskatchewan to convince Mr. Haultain that they are satisfied with the terms granted them by the Autonomy Act?—Leader, August 17, 1908.

THE FIGHT CONTINUES

Though defeated in the campaign of 1908, Mr. Haultain and his followers were not convinced that the land question was dead, or that the people were satisfied with the terms. They kept up the attack during the fall of 1908 and throughout 1909 and 1910. Finding that public opinion was veering against the terms, Premier Scott, during the fall of 1910, took occasion to deliver an important speech at Outlook, in which he made a lengthy defence of the terms and ridiculed the position of the Opposition, and went so far as to say that anyone who would advocate provincial administration of the lands must indeed be crazy.

PREMIER SCOTT AT OUTLOOK

The following quotations are reproduced from the Outlook speech which was delivered on October 6, 1910:

This land bargain issue in Saskatchewan is a false issue. For practical purposes we might as well discuss stopping the sun in its course.

The autonomy land bargain is not a legitimate issue in the provincial field, and would not be used as an issue if the Opposition thought there was good ground on which to attack us in the sphere where we are really responsible.

I am willing, not only willing but glad to defend the vote which I gave in Parliament in 1905 in favor of the land terms.

The straits of the Opposition as regards finding any reasonable grounds of attack against the government record or policy is confessed by them in their desire to keep the autonomy land bargain before the province as an issue. They thereby confess that they lack any real ground of criticism.

It therefore follows that Mr. Haultain would be utterly helpless to obtain the lands. The province has no more power to take possession of the lands than it has to obtain the moon. Parliament's power to enact the Saskatchewan Act was as complete as its authority to elect the Customs Act, and the land bargain has no more place as an issue in our provincial affairs than any tariff schedule. Mr. Haultain knows the fact as well as I do, but he is an adept quibbler.

If time permitted, I could bring, to quote an illustrious Canadian, "mountains of evidence" to sustain the Liberal position on this land question. I assure you that it is not on account of lack of defence that I complain against the dragging in of the issue, because our position is sound and strong while the Opposition ground is easily upset.

Am I going too far when I suggest a doubt as to the sanity of any Saskatchewan man who complains against our land terms?

When urging the principle of local ownership of the lands, I know that all I hoped to obtain was recognition of our right of proprietary interest in them. I certainly never expected the actual transfer to the new provinces.

Can any mind find fault with my suggestion that Mr. Haultain adheres to this land issue simply and wholly because he can find no proper ground for attack against us.

Bereft of my proper issue, falling in every attack, unable to make any criticism stick with regard to the work and the policies for which the Saskatchewan government is responsible, Mr. Haultain and his false pretences party are cordially welcome to all the encouragement which can be extracted from the bare bones of this land bargain with which the Government of Saskatchewan had no more to do and possesses no more power regarding than with Halley's Comet or the Panama Canal.

If as an issue its bones have not been picked bare in four provincial general elections and a federal general election, with all the bye-elections occurring in five years, not forgetting that of Medicine Hat when Mr. Haultain talked land terms and Walter Scott for an hour and a half, at all events I do think that the scanty shreds remaining on the bones in a future campaign will furnish exceedingly dry and barren nutriment for the political party depending on them for sustenance.
—Regina Leader Report.

CONSTERNATION APPEARS,

Though Premier Scott had declared that the Government of Saskatchewan had no more to do with the lands question than with Halley's Comet or the Panama Canal, it was gradually being placed in a most embarrassing situation. The public did not accept the Premier's statement, and from a high official source came evidence that he was wrong.

From Alberta came a bolt that caused consternation in the ranks of the Scott government. In Alberta the Sifton government, as thoroughly Liberal as that of the Hon. Walter Scott, not only was of the opinion that the province had a great deal to do with the lands question, but in the legislature it supported a resolution calling for the transfer to the province of the natural resources, which demand in-

cluded everything but the prairie lands. Something had to be done. Public opinion in Saskatchewan was becoming clamorous and was putting on the screws.

SCOTT CHANGES AGAIN

The Scott government felt the pressure and began to look for a way of escape. It had not the courage to acknowledge that it had made a mistake. But a right-about-face on the lands question was inevitable and Premier Scott was prepared for it, as he had been in 1905. Having changed his opinion once he could change it again. This time, however, he decided to range himself and his government on the side of provincial rights by a trick which did himself no credit in the eyes of the public.

Unable to induce the government to accept the general principle that the public domain is by right the property of the province, Mr. Haultain had concluded that he would try to accomplish something by partial measures. To this end he introduced a resolution requesting the transfer to the provincial government of the coal lands and water powers within the province with a view to the establishing of a provincial power policy. Knowing that it had to change its attitude, and thinking to gain a slight advantage by nominally going Mr. Haultain one better, even though the step necessitated a complete change of attitude on the lands question, the government introduced an amendment reaffirming the leading principle of the Laurier terms, but calling for the transfer to the province of the public domain in the northern portion of the province, and also all other natural resources of "a purely local nature," which, it said, were not required by the Dominion government in the carrying out of its immigration policy.

THE OPPOSITION'S POSITION

The Opposition countered this move by an amendment of a sweeping character, declaring that by right the lands should be the property of the province; that the autonomy terms were a denial of this right and that the whole of the public domain, including agricultural, timber and mineral lands, as well as water powers, should be transferred to the provincial government. The resolution also set forth that compensation should be granted to the province for all lands

alienated for federal purposes, including also homestead and pre-emption lands. This amendment the government voted down on a straight party division.

That the reader may the more closely follow this phase of the controversy, the original resolution and the two amendments are herewith reproduced:

THE OPPOSITION RESOLUTION

Moved by Mr. Haultain, seconded by Mr. Donaldson.

That in the opinion of this House the government should take immediate steps towards obtaining the control of the unalienated coal areas and water powers in the province with a view to the ultimate establishment of a provincial system for the development and transmission of power for municipal, manufacturing and other purposes in the province; and of a cheap fuel supply under the control and operation of the government.

THE GOVERNMENT AMENDMENT

It was moved in amendment by Mr. Turgeon, seconded by Mr. McNab, that all the words after the word "that" be struck out and the following substituted therefor:

Whereas the Government of Canada has under consideration the advisability of extending the boundaries of the provinces of Quebec, Ontario and Manitoba so as to include the hinterland lying adjacent to and north of these provinces;

And, Whereas the several areas proposed to be included in the said provinces are at present the property of Canada and any action by the Parliament of Canada to transfer the ownership of the property to the provinces referred to will have the effect of altering the terms and conditions upon which such provinces entered the Confederation;

And, Whereas the extension of the boundaries of the said provinces northward will bring within their respective borders areas very similar to the territory comprising the northern part of the Province of Saskatchewan;

And, Whereas under the terms of the Saskatchewan Act, the Alberta Act and the Manitoba Act the compensation payable to the provinces in lieu of lands is based upon the principle that the Federal Government should retain control of the agricultural lands of Western Canada for colonization and immigration purposes;

And, Whereas the said northern part of the Province of Saskatchewan is not required by the Government of Canada for the purpose of carrying out its colonization and immigration policy;

And, whereas, in addition to the agricultural lands, there are certain natural resources within Saskatchewan which are

of purely local concern and which are not required by the federal authorities for the carrying out of its colonization policy;

Therefore be it resolved, that in the opinion of this House the Government of Saskatchewan should proceed with negotiations with the federal authorities for the purpose of having transferred to the province all that part of the hinterland of Saskatchewan, together with all natural resources of purely local concern contained within the province not required for colonization and immigration purposes.

And be it further resolved, that, while this House holds the view that negotiations for the purposes mentioned should be proceeded with, yet it desires to place on record and to reaffirm its belief in the principle that, in the interests of Saskatchewan as well as in the interests of Canada as a whole and the British Empire, it is desirable that the vacant agricultural lands of Western Canada should remain under the control of the federal authorities for settlement and colonization purposes.

THE OPPOSITION AMENDMENT

It was moved in amendment to the amendment by Mr. Gillis, seconded by Mr. Tate, that all the words after "that" to the end of the question be struck out and the following substituted therefor:

1. In the opinion of this House:

(a) In the establishment of the province the important principle of absolute equality among the Provinces of the Dominion, which is the only sure guarantee of the permanency of the Confederation structure, was not adhered to in regard to the lands, minerals, timber and waters of the province.

(b) The people of this province held and hold the view that when the province was established it was only fair, just and proper that the land, timber, minerals and waters therein should be handed over to the people dwelling there to be managed and owned by them in the same way as in most of the other provinces in the Dominion.

(c) The people of the province further ask for and expect that compensation for the lands, minerals, timber and waters of the province, alienated for federal purposes should be made to the province by the Dominion.

(d) The lands and other public resources of the province can be managed more efficiently, economically and satisfactorily by the province than by Canada, and there was and is no good reason for a departure from the principle of the Confederation Act in the case of the Province of Saskatchewan.

2. This House dissents from the principle of a money grant in lieu of lands contained in the Saskatchewan Act and claims that the compensation granted by that Act is manifestly unfair and inadequate.

3. This House is of the opinion that a policy of administering the agricultural land of the province in the interest of settlement and colonization by a homestead and pre-emption system should be followed out by the province in the event of its acquiring control of its lands and that, therefore, negotiations

should at once be commenced by the Government of Saskatchewan with a view of obtaining from the Dominion:

1. The beneficial interest and control of all Crown lands, minerals, timber and waters in the province.

2. Compensation for all lands alienated by the Dominion for purely federal purposes, including purchased homesteads and pre-emptions.

3. The extension of the northern boundaries of the province in the same manner as the other provinces are dealt with.

THE POLICIES CONTRASTED

Note carefully the difference between the Government and the Opposition policies.

The Scott Government does not hold that the public lands by right belong to the province:

The Opposition does.

The Scott Government asks only for a portion of the public domain.

The Opposition asks for the whole of it.

The Scott Government adheres to the principle of a subsidy in lieu of the lands' revenue.

The Opposition declares that all the revenue from the lands should go to the province.

The Scott Government says that it wants only that portion of the public domain which the Dominion government does not require for the carrying out of its immigration policy.

The Opposition declares that the province should have the whole of the public domain; for it can administer the same better than can the Dominion government.

The Scott Government does not ask compensation for lands alienated by the Dominion government.

The Opposition declares that the province should receive compensation for all lands alienated for federal purposes.

AN ABSURD POSITION

The absurdity of the Scott Government's request as set forth in the resolution is manifest. In the first place, its request was not based on an inherent right; but on the assumption that the boundaries of the provinces of Manitoba, Ontario and Quebec were to be extended. This is its first proposition. Manifestly then if the boundaries of these provinces were not extended Saskatchewan would have little or no claim to consideration.

The statement, is then made that the territory within the portions to be added to these provinces is the property of the Dominion and that "any action by the Parliament of Canada to transfer the ownership of the property to the provinces referred to will have the effect of altering the terms and conditions upon which such provinces entered the Confederation." As far as Ontario and Quebec are concerned, this statement is incorrect. They entered Confederation on the distinct understanding that the public domain within their boundaries should be administered by their respective governments. So in transferring to their governments the public domain in the territory to be added to Ontario and Quebec, the Dominion Parliament would merely be acting in accordance with the terms on which these provinces entered Confederation.

Respecting Manitoba, the members of the Scott Government have always contended that the withholding by the Dominion government of the public domain in that province was wise policy; that being so, what reason had the Scott Government to assume that a change was about to take place?

THE LOGICAL CONCLUSION

In so far as the "northern part" of the province, or "the hinterland of Saskatchewan," as it is called, is concerned, the Scott Government virtually declared that being similar in character to the territory to be added to the provinces of Manitoba, Ontario and Quebec, therefore, if the ownership of such territory were transferred to these provinces, the public domain in the hinterland of this province should pass to the provincial government. From this it may be fairly assumed that if the resources of the hinterland were not similar to those in the territory to be added to the other provinces, Saskatchewan's claim to consideration would be very slight.

Proceeding one finds in the Scott Government's resolution an admission that any request which the provincial government may make for the public domain is to be considered as secondary to any action which the Dominion government may deem fit to take. For example, there is recognition of the principle that the federal government should retain control of the agricultural lands of Western Canada for colonization and immigration purposes. The immigration policy of the Dominion government, then, is of chief importance,

and the Scott Government says that it should come first. So the provincial government's position is that it asks only for that portion of the public domain which the Dominion government does not require. The inevitable conclusion, then, is that if the Dominion government required all the public domain for the carrying out of its immigration and colonization policy the Scott Government would not ask for any portion of it. Now, are not the wooded portions of this province good for settlers?

A STRANGE CHAMPION

A strange champion of the rights of the province the Scott Government surely is, seeing it is content that Saskatchewan shall receive only that which the Dominion government does not require!

And this is the government that asks the electors to entrust it with the negotiations for the transfer of the public domain from the Dominion to the provincial governments. To entrust it with these negotiations would be absurd, for the Borden government has declared itself in favor of transferring the whole of the public domain to the province; whereas the Scott Government has declared in the most positive language that this would be unwise. The best that can be said for its request is that it is only of a partial nature and leaves with the Dominion government the most desirable lands.

The Scott government cannot now be considered a sincere advocate of the administration of the public domain by the Province. For it to assume such an attitude would imply an utter repudiation of its former policy. Premier Scott cannot advocate one policy one year, and a directly opposite policy the next year, and expect to be believed. Besides Saskatchewan has lost too much money over the wretched Laurier land bargain to trifle longer with the men who fastened it upon her. The Scott government must suffer for its mistakes.